1:Sanders Z-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumulate a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the required amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 241 594 [435] Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself [312] [476] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates, being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep raising [233] [857] to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from school for two or three years.

178 626 ●183 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently returned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to continue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are involved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that much more individual variability is permitted.

178 369 602 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

[433] The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had [178] to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innovations since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the
262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro-
511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care
356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
463 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one,
● 183 as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter [illegible] of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[836] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
[577] couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

59
583 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of
182 property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha,* and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

Ministers" down to the simple monk, is substantially identical. It consists of an inner *rason* (corresponding to the western cassock), very long and with narrow sleeves, often—but not invariably—belted at the waist. This is essentially an undergarment, and this it was that the metropolitan of a Macedonian diocese presumably had in mind when he returned some patterns of heavy black serge, which had been sent to him for inspection, with the comment that the cloth would be most suitable for making "warm winter underwear" for his clergy. Over it is worn a fuller gown with wide sleeves: the outer *rason*. The latter is always of black stuff but the inner *rason* may be of various colours. Purple and dark blue are often favoured by the higher clergy, while in the monasteries a grey cassock made of very light material is frequently worn. One abbot of my acquaintance (a resourceful and many-sided character) is accustomed to appear on Sundays and holy days decked in the purest crimson—a splendid sight for eyes grown weary of the joylessness of English clerical attire—while on lesser days he wears a fur-lined outer *rason* (if the season be chill) over a cassock of russet. Among a nation of individualists it would indeed be remarkable if one did not from time to time stumble upon minor sartorial eccentricities on the part of the clergy. These divergences from the norm of unchanging custom are never, however, of so radical a nature as to obscure the ecclesiastical character of their author. In Greece the priest and the monk are marked men, instantly recognisable to all.

I have already referred to the distinctive form of headgear in use among the Greek clergy. This is simply a cylinder of stiffened cloth about nine inches in height, most commonly known as the *kalymmafchion*. That worn by the married clergy is *surmounted* by a narrow brim, but the monastic form, sometimes called a *skouphos*, is brimless. In Greece all the bishops as well as monastic clergy not actually residing in a regular community, wear the former type of *kalymmafchion*. Over this, on formal occasions, a bishop or an archimandrite will wear a long black veil known as the *epanokalymmafchion*. This, however, forms part of the monastic habit, and consequently is never worn by the secular clergy. In the monasteries a soft cap often takes the place of the more formal *kalymmafchion*, though, unlike the Russians, the Greek monks do not venture abroad thus attired. Dr. Covel notes, somewhere in his journals, that on Athos the priests and deacons knit their own caps.

An English visitor to the monastery of Megaspelaion in 1829, the

WORK

Attitudes towards work, time, planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function. Things like sports, weekends and vacations, or like "leisure" in the Western sense, are the recent introductions of foreigners. There are times when work or certain kinds of work are interdicted, but this is part of religion, not a claim to leisure time or idleness. And leisure is an attitude, a dimension of all work, and in fact, of all life; it is not confined to a time of day but is the constant expression of internal freedom while at work or at rest.

Diligence is part of the image of the self; it is a personal quality, warmly admired. To call a girl *procommene*, diligent, is to say something about her attractiveness. A poem which school children used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to set the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody-goody about her, and nothing strange about calling industriousness joyous. The Greek folk songs, often sung as accompaniments to the dance, picture such work situations: a group of young girls laundering at the beach, spreading the clothes and playing in the sand; or the woman singing at her loom. Folk tales make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy, happy life, of the girls and women gossiping at the fountain in the village square as they wait their turn; of the mother weaving in the shade of the grape arbor while she watches the food cooking on the outdoor brazier, of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands; of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away, the little children running by their side, the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip, swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life, as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth.

Diligence is an internal attitude; it rests on self-discipline and free incentive, it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake; it is the personal quality of diligence, not work itself, which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work; and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom; all work under pressure, such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer, means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries, or for land needed by the family, worked incredibly long hours, but neither through external nor through inner compulsion.

They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of "we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is